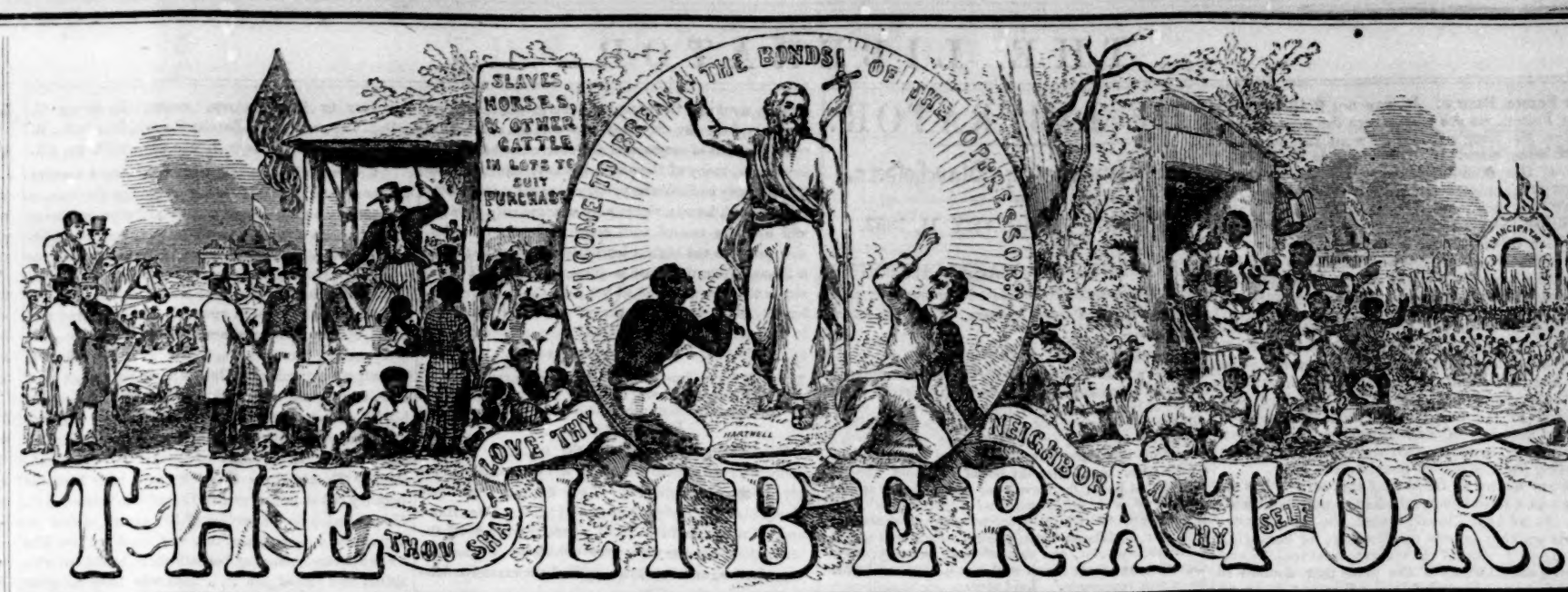


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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts,
and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-
thorized to receive subscriptions for the Liberator.
The following gentlemen constitute the Financial
Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts
of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY
JUNIOR, EDWARD QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILLIPS, and
others.
It is the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of
the paper, are impartially allowed a hearing.



No Union with Slaveholders!
THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH
AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.
Yes! It cannot be denied—the slaveholding
lords of the South, since they, as a condition of their
assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to
secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their
slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,
of preserving the African slave trade; the second was
the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an
engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,
delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal
to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-
sentation for slaves for articles of merchandise, under
the name of persons. . . . In fact, the oppressor repre-
sented the oppressed. . . . To call government thus con-
stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of
mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of
riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the
government of the nation is to establish an artificial
majority in the slave representation over that of the
free people, in the American Congress; and thereby
to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETU-
ATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT
OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—John Quincy Adams.

THE LIBERATOR
VOL. XXIII. NO. 6.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.
BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1853.

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THE LIBERATOR
SPECIALS
AT THE LATE ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.
SPEECH OF STEPHEN S. FOSTER.
The growth of a moral principle is like the growth of
a tree; it admits of cultivation, and will be helped by it,
but it requires time for its development and perfection,
and there is such a thing as stimulating it into an un-
healthy growth. Our cause requires time. Then do not
let us be discouraged because it does not grow more
rapidly. All we have to do is to see that the truth of
God is clearly and distinctly held up before the people.
That done, all is done that can be done, and it matters
not how few or many are engaged in this work, whether
or that may be blazoned forth by ten or ten thousand,
so that the nation sees it. In time, it will have its
legitimate action, and work out its legitimate results on
the national conscience.
I know there are certain results that can be effected
by the multiplication of numbers; we may, by bringing
thousands into this city to attend these meetings, affect
the coming elections. But remember, this is not our
work. Our work is with the conscience, and mere
numbers never yet purified a human heart, never really
enlightened a human intellect.
I know it is necessary in our movement, if we would
hasten it, to have teachers enough to keep the truth
distinctly before the whole people; yet these we have
not at present. The augmentation of our numbers
would undoubtedly increase the progress of our cause,
because it would enable us to put the light before
more minds. There are many yet in ignorance cap-
able of beholding the light, if it could only be let
into the dark corners in which they dwell.
But, after all, I apprehend that we are not so de-
ficient in laborers as some seem to suppose. We must
have time for any enterprise to mature, and this is re-
quisite whether the laborers be few or many. And even
if we are greatly deficient in laborers, we have no cause
for discouragement; for we have only to take a little
more time, and those already in this warfare will be
able to accomplish all that could be accomplished by a
larger number in less time. I have no feeling of dis-
couragement in my bosom. Even if I knew we could
not succeed, my course would be still the same. God
never precluded the condition of my happiness on my
success. If I do the work which He has given me to do,
to the best of my ability, I shall have done my part,
and though I do not succeed, it is not my fault. The
results are not mine, and I feel that in the end, whether
they may be, I shall have my reward. So, if I knew
that we should fail, I should feel that a great good
would be accomplished by our efforts—a good for the
coming ages. If but one HONEST man should live in
the nineteenth century, he would not live in vain. I
think, therefore, even granting that our cause is not to
succeed, that we should not, for a moment, cherish a
feeling of discouragement.
But all we shall succeed. Our success thus far has
been what we could expect, under the circumstances.
There never was before such success attending human
effort; never did the public sentiment move so rapidly.
I am amazed at the progress of my own mind, when
I look back over the past, and see where I stood
twenty years ago, when the anti-slavery enterprise
picked me up, and contrast it with the position in
which I stand to-day. I have myself been sufficiently
benefitted to warrant all the sacrifices that have been
made in this cause. The man that plucks a brand from
the burning, that liberates a human soul from the
galling chains of spiritual despotism, that disencum-
bers the immortal spirit, and turns that spirit, freed
from the tormenting fear of death and the more tor-
menting fear of hell, to the Infinite God, that it may
more and more expand under His pure and holy influ-
ence;—he who does that, does a great and glorious
work; and that work, I feel the anti-slavery movement
has done for me, and for me alone, but for thousands
and tens of thousands of other minds. We have
literally experienced in this movement the declaration
of Jesus, made eighteen hundred years ago, that 'it
is more blessed to give than to receive.' We have been
endeavoring to give liberty to the slave. In that we
have not yet succeeded, but we have been liberated our-
selves from a despotism more horrible than the mere
outward despotism which crushes the broken-hearted
slave in his chains. Our spirits have been set free—
free in the practical, the highest, the holiest sense
of that word; and that freedom which has been conferred
upon us has prepared us for the great work of going
forth to liberate other minds.
The man who looks at the slave only, and at our en-
terprise as connected with his physical emancipation,—
I wonder not that such should think our cause moves
slowly, that he should wonder we meet year after year
under existing circumstances. But he who views it in
this light has no adequate comprehension of its true dig-
nity and scope. I know that was the mission on
which we started, but it is not to be the only result of our
labors; for in freeing the slave from his shackles, we are
liberating the mind of the whole community; we are
laying deeper and broader the foundations of human
freedom than they were ever intended to be laid by any
other class of men, in any age of the world. We are,
in effect, striking at despotism of every description,
and with the downfall of slavery, there will come the
downfall of the despotism of Church and State through-
out the country, and eventually throughout the world.
I have regretted that our cause had so many obstacles
to contend with; that the Church, at the beginning of
our movement, should have thrown herself across our

path; that Northern politics should be so hostile. But
I regret it no longer; for with our triumph, these des-
potisms, spiritual and political, will pass away. I do
not say that the form of our religion will disappear
with the form of slavery: the church may exist in form
for many years to come, but the spirit is rapidly taking
its departure, and she will soon be a powerless though
somewhat offensive body.
My object in these remarks is to cheer up the friends
of the slave. There is, my friends, no cause for dis-
couragement, under any circumstances. We are en-
gaged in a warfare which, to my mind, is certain of
success. If there be a single man to go forth to the bat-
tle. Look back twenty years, and there stood one man,
single-handed and alone,—a printer's boy, friendless,
penniless, without education, without any thing to com-
mend him to the world,—and the note of admonition
from his solitary lips rang like thunder through this
whole land, and it so agitated the slaveholder in his
gorgeous palace, that he instantly offered a reward of
\$5000 to any one that would silence that young voice
in death. Such was the potency of a human voice,—
human voice, did I say? no! the potency was not in the
voice, for other voices had spoken in kindred tones,—
that potency was in the pulsations of the heart. The
potency of a true heart, what can it not do? It can
make itself felt all over the world; like electricity, it
will find itself a connecting medium, and go far and
wide to earth's remotest bounds. In this is our hope,
not in numbers; and so long as there is a single man or
woman with a true heart, so long there shall be no
peace to the slaveholder, and our cause shall continue
to triumph; and just in proportion to the earnestness
of our spirit will be the success of our movement.
Then, friends, do not let us be discouraged; do not
let us count our numbers; let us trust in the living
God—not theologically, but practically; let it be in the
great principles of truth and justice; let us resolve to
exemplify them in our own characters. Let there be
but one living soul in this nation, whose voice shall
be true and clear and distinct for liberty, and the nation
will all hear and all read, and in due time, every heart
will be brought under its divine and all-pervading influ-
ence. Let us resolve, then, to go onward, every man
trimming his lamp and letting his light shine before
the world, that others, seeing his good works, may be
drawn to unite in this great and glorious enterprise!

At an anniversary meeting of the American Baptist
Home Mission Society, I introduced a resolution
against employing any slaveholding missionaries. Dea-
con Lincoln of this city was the presiding officer. I ad-
vocated it with all my power. I had reason to believe
that a deep impression had been made; I thought it
was certainly going to be carried. A prominent broth-
er arose, said it was a solemn and important subject,
and moved that we spend an hour in prayer! I then
did the most unpopular thing I ever did in my
life—I opposed the prayer! I objected to stopping our
work, and going to praying! We didn't need prayer
then. I told them that I read in the Bible, that when
the children of Israel were hemmed in at the Red Sea,
and were hard pursued by the Egyptians, they cried
out to the Lord. And God said, stop that cry! and he
commanded Moses to speak to the children of Israel,
that they go forward! Also, I said that I regarded it as
little short of blasphemy for us to ask God whether
we ought to adopt such a resolution as the one before
us. (Hear.) If they would pass the resolution, I
would then pray with them as long as they pleased.
But they voted me down, and voted the
prayer. I told them, however, that I could not join
them in their prayer. They prayed the hour out. Dea.
Lincoln called first on this man, then on that—Dennis
Chapin, and Esquire that, and General the other, to lead
in prayer; taking care to call on those opposed to the
resolution; and at the end of the hour, the anti-slavery
feeling of the meeting had all gone down, further than the
sun went back on the dial of Abaz. Then they took up
the resolution—rejected it—and went on employing slave-
holders the same as before. Again and again, Sir, have
we been very near to an anti-slavery triumph, but we
have always been defeated by this sort of management.
Once, Sir, I should have thought your resolutions far
too strong for me—too strong for the truth. But now,
after seventeen years close and constant experience of
the churches, of the manner in which things are done,
and the influences which govern them, I have not a word
of dissent to utter; but I accord with those resolutions
most entirely. I am satisfied they speak the truth.
They say, and I say, that these churches are a leath-
ing and abhorrence.
It is just so, also, with the Bible, Tract, and Sunday
School Societies; all of them indifferent, unfeeling
towards the slave's sufferings, debasement, and wrongs.
They are engaged in serving God, and so busy that
they can't think of their oppressed neighbor, fallen
among thieves, wounded, and half-dead. They see
God in heaven; they see the Redeemer at his right
hand; they see him crowned, glorified, exalted; but they
don't see him, they won't see him in the slave, in poor,
oppressed, bleeding humanity.
Once, at a Bible Society meeting, I was objecting to
receiving contributions from slaveholders and slave-
holding churches. A friend of the Bible Society
replied, that he admitted the connection of the
Society with slavery, but said that the price of the
slave would make just as good a Bible as any other
Bible. I read it with great attention and interest,
and I was deeply impressed with the facts and argu-
ments it presented. Soon after that, an agent of the
Colonization Society came to the town where I was
settled in the ministry, and asked me to grant him the
use of my pulpit, on the Sunday following, that he
might advocate that Society's plans, and obtain some
aid for them. I told him that my mind had become
very much changed about that Society; but he should
have the pulpit, and I would take fifteen minutes
after he was done, and give my views of the ques-
tion. He declined my terms, and I considered him wise
in doing so.
From that time, I espoused the anti-slavery cause.
The first sermon which I preached to my people on the
subject was in 1833. I wrote it with great interest,
and I expected it would produce an effect, and bring many
to take a decided anti-slavery stand. I expected the
Church would take up the subject, and apply her
strength to the work; and I never expected that a ques-
tion could be raised of such immense Christian influ-
ence. I was young then, and ambitious. I wanted
to do something which would honor God, and I dis-
credited myself. I felt that the man who should first start
this cause in New Hampshire, would have been honored man;
and as I had not heard of any one else doing it, I longed
to be that man. I applied myself, therefore, to the
preparation of that sermon with unusual zeal. I put
into it a great many facts and statistics out of Mr. Gar-
rison's book,—told how many slaves there were in the
country,—how fast they had increased, and went over
the whole subject, so far as I had informed myself. I
could hardly wait for the bell to stop ringing on the
Sunday when I was going to preach it; I could hardly
wait for the singers to get through, and I only gave four
verses to be sung. I had a large audience too,
and many came in from the other churches, when I
was found what I was preaching about. Very soon, a
Committee of the Church waited upon me; I was also
visited by one judge and two lawyers. What do you
think they came to say to me? To thank me for my elo-
quent discourse, and ask a copy for the press? I ex-
pected that, sir;—but, no! it was no such thing at all.
They came to tell me that I must shut up my head,—
that I must stop this agitation! I told them that I
hadn't expected things would take such a turn as that;
that I was surprised at what they said; that I expected
to be well-sustained, and to be popular in the position I
had taken. But my hand was in, I told them, and I
wouldn't back out. I knew where I stood, and I was
determined to stand firm. And I have stood my ground.
Every year, from that time to this, I have brought
forth the anti-slavery question in our Baptist religious
meetings, anniversaries, &c. I have put in an anti-
slavery resolution,—worked it in, crowded it in, any-
where, as the rules would allow. And for doing it, I
have been regarded as a disturber of the church's peace,
and a trouble of our Israel. I have been repulsed—
the cause has been defeated, constantly, year after year.
Once I had great hope in the Church. Now that hope
has utterly failed, and gone forever. Sir, this was my
experience, and for the truth of what I am going to
say, I appeal to my friend Hutchins here, who has long
been an elder in the Baptist body;—I have never known
one, minister who has advocated the anti-slavery cause,
but has lost caste, and fallen into disesteem by doing so;
I have never known one, who has apologized for the
slave system, fraternized with slaveholders, admitted
them into his pulpit, and denounced the anti-slavery agi-
tation, but has both retained and greatly increased his
power and his popularity in the Church, by so doing!

strong men met at Pittsburg,—strong in moral pur-
pose, though not, perhaps, conforming to your standard
in all their plans, since they, like myself, believe in
voting. It should have suppressed the Free Democ-
racy in its Convention first, if it wished to accomplish
anything. It should have passed on to Ohio, and
sought to see what it could do in suppressing agitation
there, on that rich soil, the natural home of freedom,
where our New England men, Garrison, Hale, Parker,
have counted their audiences by thousands, and gone
from town to town, as Kossuth went through Hungary,
'sowing sentences and reaping men!' Yes, the Slave
Power should have suppressed the Western Reserve.
It should have come on through New York, (if it had
no time to go further West,) and stopped at Rochester
to suppress Frederick Douglass—the tongue of this
great nation of three million enslaved Africans! It
should have stopped at Syracuse, and called on the men
who rescued Jerry, and who dropped the United States
Marshal out of a two-story window! It should have
visited Gerrit Smith, and inquired if he had a few
thousand dollars left to be consecrated by his legalized
robbery! It should have gone, step by step, through
the Western and Middle States, trying to suppress agi-
tation as it passed. And if we suppose it to have done
all this, it has done nothing; for it has not touched
Massachusetts! The Slave Power must come a little
further. It must come to Worcester, and see one of
those great assemblages of freemen that I have seen,
more than once, assembled in their City Hall,—the second
'Cradle of Liberty,' for it received George Thompson
when the first one rocked him out. (Great cheering.)
It should come and see this great audience, as I see
you, and read in your faces that there is something felt
in Massachusetts besides baseness and compromise. It
must come to this Convention, the birth-place of all
this pestilent spirit of Liberty; and, if it really wishes
to suppress the American eagle, and all the heroic at-
tributes it represents, and substitute the obscene and
rapacious bird of Southern climes—if it really seeks to
do this, it must come here, and suppress the young eag-
les in their nest;—and they look to me as if they
would die hard. (Cheers.)
We have something else to think of than these idle
efforts. It may be that here and there a weak spirit is
found that cannot stand against the world, the flesh
and the devil; but such weak spirits fall, and are soon
forgotten. We may deplore when a Van Buren re-
members that his anti-slavery principle is too young to
bear the trials of life, and might as well, perhaps, have
been drowned before its eyes were open; we may feel sad
when a Stanton proves that his anti-slavery principle
was born too early, perhaps, and has grown superannu-
ated and weak; we may mourn—how deeply I dare not
attempt to say—when a greater than these bows in the
dust the most majestic head that Massachusetts or Amer-
ica ever saw; but what are these things, compared to
the work we have to do? How transiently do they af-
fect the anti-slavery agitation, or the duties that rest
upon us! Said Napoleon, upon that stern battle-field,
when they told him that his bravest leaders were fall-
ing before the destructive fire of the enemy—'We are
all lost,' said they; 'the generals are being struck
down; Bernier is fallen, and La Harpe is fallen; we
are in despair; what shall we do?' 'Is there any
body left alive?' 'Yes.' 'Then onward! onward!
onward!' Is there any body left alive among us?
Then onward, as if even Webster were with us still!
(Loud cheers.)
It may be that great men have fallen; but greater
than they have fallen in times past. Well says the poet—
'Still lives the song, though Regnar dies.'
Still lives the great heart of humanity, and still throbs
on with the same mighty impulses, though a hundred
Websters, and a thousand Van Burens, and a million
Stantons may silence the beating of theirs for ever.
There is work still left for us to do; and this is all the
brave man needs to know. All over the nation, the
spirit is aroused that leads men to do this work. It
shows itself in the softening of the prejudices among
anti-slavery men themselves; in a willingness to co-
operate with those who differ from them in the details of
their plans. Free Soilers see that the disunion aboli-
tionist goes in the right direction, even though, for
them, he goes too far. The disunion abolitionist sees
that the Free Soiler goes in the right direction, the
same with himself, even if he does not go far enough.
When I read the other day that Henry Ward Beecher
had subscribed for the Liberator, that that an era had
come in the history of mankind; and when I heard a
neighbor of mine, a good Orthodox deacon, and a worthy
and excellent man, say that there ought to be fifty
Theodore Parkers instead of one, I felt as if the believ-
ers in the Second Advent doctrine were not so wholly de-
luded as I had hastily supposed. (Cheers and laughter.)
I assert again, that the earth turns round. This
anti-slavery movement is doing more than any influence
has yet done for us, in reconciling sectarian animosities
and clearing narrow prejudices away. Men who work
side by side for the slave, cannot long condemn each
other for elevating fire for errors in theology. I think
we should regard the anti-slavery agitation as a kind
of solemn sacrament. It needs the courage and love of
angels so to trouble these waters, that the full benefit
of healing may come out of them.
Meanwhile, every man who has any remains of con-
science in him, is so far, indirectly or directly, conscious-
ly or unconsciously, an anti-slavery man. Every good
act of a man's life is, so far, a protest against every
evil on the face of the earth. If there remain in a man
a single thrill of generous impulse, there is the begin-
ning of an abolitionist. Talk of inconsistency! Many
a man is saved by a few generous inconsistencies. But
we must believe in men first, before we can regenerate
them.
And the agitation must keep on. A moral evil needs
a moral sentiment to overthrow it; and this only agi-
tation can sustain. What said the Spirit of God to the
old prophet, when he mourned the sins and captivity
of his people, as we do now? It did not say—'Do not
waste your influence;—it did not say—'Keep silence,
for this thing is exciting;—it did not say—'Find some
prudent citizen to cipher you out a plan of emancipa-
tion—make the best compromise you can with Babylon
and the Chaldeans—'and keep clear of Jeremiah, for he
uses hard words!' What said it, then? It said this
only—'Overturn, and overturn, and overturn—till
he shall come whose right it is to reign.' Even so saith
the Spirit of the Lord to the children of this generation.
Amen.

